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Chairman: Mr. SCHAFER (Germany) (Vice-Chairman)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75

QUESTIONS RELATING TO INFORMATION

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to draw members' attention to a note, dated 11 November 1991, from the Secretary-General. This has been circulated as document A/SPC/46/3.

AGENDA ITEM 37

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

The CHAIRMAN: Members will recall that, in connection with this item, which will be considered directly in plenary meeting, the General Assembly has decided that organizations and individuals having a special interest in the question of apartheid will be permitted to be heard by the Special Political Committee. At its second meeting, on 7 October, the Committee decided to set a deadline of 31 October for the submission of requests for hearings and to consider, at a meeting prior to the hearings, all requests received by the deadline date. The hearings requests contained in documents A/SPC/46/L.4 and Addenda 1-5 were approved by the Committee at its 20th meeting, which was held on 8 November.

I propose that, following the practice of previous years, the Committee request a verbatim record of these hearings.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I appeal to all speakers in the hearings in connection with this item to confine their remarks to the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

I call first on Mr. Pheko of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. PHEKO: It is a privilege for me to address the Special Political Committee.

While the euphoria grows, while the deception that the South African regime is serious about fundamental changes in South Africa spreads, and while all sorts of excuses about the means of dealing with South Africa are made by people who claim to be committed to the dismantling of apartheid and the destruction of colonialism, the facts reveal that the changes are superficial and cannot lead to the dismantling of apartheid. In fact, the situation is becoming dangerous not only for the colonized Africans in South Africa but also for the front-line States and, eventually, for the rest of Africa.

On 11 November 1991, during a visit to Israel by Mr. F. W. de Klerk and his Foreign Minister, South Africa signed a broad agreement on economic and scientific ties with Israel. Now, it is an open secret that Israel has been helping South Africa to develop a nuclear capability.

Today the oppressed are being asked to refrain from using such terminology as "Pretoria regime" and "racist, colonialist regime" as there is "change" in South Africa. The colonized Africans in Azania, some declare, must no longer be discussed under items related to colonialism and self-determination as this is "irrelevant" to the South African situation. In the last decade of the twentieth century this thinking and this approach are absolutely wrong. However, the national liberation movements and political organizations in Azania continue to refer to the so-called government or authorities as the regime, because the South African regime is still racist and colonialist and represents the minority, and the indigenous African majority population is still under alien rule and still voteless.

Let me provide some very stubborn facts about South Africa.

(Mr. Pheko)

Actions and pronouncements by Mr. F. W. de Klerk, by his Foreign Minister and by other officials of the regime clearly indicate that the regime is against majority rule - one person, one vote - in South Africa and is in favour of the perpetuation of minority racist colonial rule in disguise.

(Mr. Pheko)

The regime has refused to comply with the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989 (resolution S-16/1). According to the Human Rights Commission in South Africa, in respect of political trials and prisoners, as of September 1991 there had been 476 political trials and 2,659 people accused. There were 689 political trials in progress in the Orange Free State, 122 in Natal, 96 in Northern Cape, 57 in Western Cape and 130 in the Bantustans, the so-called homelands. The total number of "security" prisoners was 250, and that of "unrest" prisoners was 1,200. This makes a total of 1,450 political prisoners. On South Africa's death row there are 333 people.

In 1990, this past year, 36 people died from tuberculosis every day in South Africa. Tuberculosis has been called the disease of apartheid, because it thrives where people live in overcrowded and poor conditions.

The regime is advertising in Europe for immigrants, with the promise of lucrative offers and citizenship rights. These immigrants are more racist than the apartheid racists themselves. Some have joined the regime's army. The regime has also granted immediate citizenship to mercenaries from Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. The regime has also employed and deployed these dangerous assassins working with the South African army against unarmed and defenceless women and children.

It cannot be denied that there has been an unprecedented escalation of violence in our country, mainly sponsored and instigated by the South African regime for the purpose of maintaining white supremacy, which is colonialism and apartheid. The genocidal white-on-black violence - being paraded as black-on-black violence - is being implemented by the regime through the Koevoet Batallion, housed at a base in Moordkop in Northern Transvaal; Buffalo Batallion 32; the Selous Scouts from Ian Smith's former Rhodesia; and RENAMO elements.

(Mr. Pheko)

This is in addition to the sterilization of African women and the encouragement given askaris infected with the AIDS virus to sleep with African women so as to spread AIDS among the Africans in order to reduce their population. On 31 October 1991, the Johannesburg Sowetan revealed that

> "A holocaust due to AIDS could depopulate South African and cause economic and social chaos, according to an international monitor of population trends. By the end of 1995, as many as 12.8 million people in South Africa could be infected with the AIDS virus. ... Despite overwhelming evidence that AIDS might depopulate South Africa, officials refuse to deal with the realities."

In South Africa, white civilians possess 2.5 million guns. Any white person over the age of 18 can possess up to 28 guns bought over the counter. In addition to this, 20 tons of guns have been imported by South Africa from the United States of America, according to AFRICA Fund, which is based in New York. Last year, 10,000 Africans were killed. This year, Africans are dying at the rate of 15 a day.

The genocidal scale on which Africans have been dying has prompted the President of PAC, Clarence Makwetu, to ask:

> "For how long are the oppressed and dispossessed people of Azania going to be the only ones visiting the graveyards with monotonous regularity? I leave that question for you to answer."

The Peace Accord was signed by three parties on 14 September 1991, but, by the end of that month alone, more than 200 Africans had been killed. On the occasion of the signing of the Peace Accord, the PAC leader, President Clarence Makwetu, warned against the activities of faceless gunmen

(Mr. Pheko)

who are massacring Africans at will. The PAC position has been vindicated by the subsequent killings that have taken place since the signing of the Peace Accord.

Let me talk about crimes of apartheid. The regime has refused to grant a general amnesty to genuine political prisoners. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has absolutely failed to extract a general amnesty for political exiles from the regime. Consequently, exiles cannot be assured that, if they return, they cannot be prosecuted. I must point out that, only a week ago, one of them was mysteriously killed after he had returned to the country. Many PAC leaders have not been allowed to return to their own country unconditionally.

The PAC rejects the view that those who have committed the crime of apartheid, a crime against humanity, can now claim the dubious right to confer so-called indemnity on the victims of apartheid. We insist that, if the regime means well, it must declare a general amnesty that does not subject our people to the indignities of interrogations and categorization. True indemnity, in any case, can be conferred only by the victims of apartheid on the perpetrators of this crime. It is ridiculous that this regime claims such a right.

While Africans are being massacred and are dying like flies, and funerals and mourning are a daily routine, while 50 per cent of their babies die before the age of six and 36 people die of tuberculosis every day, while there is dire poverty and nearly 2 million children cannot find schooling, the world is being asked to focus on luxuries. Whites from South Africa can now come and play their rugby, tennis and other élite sports while Africans suffer poverty, disease and ignorance. Some have one meal a day and have no shelter. These

(Mr. Pheko)

victims of apartheid must not be the priority, according to this thinking: a chance must be given to whites to play their rugby internationally. What morality! What logic! What justice! How wonderful is the new world order that is being preached but not practised!

The PAC has maintained that the sports boycott must be kept up. Those who want to play their tennis and rugby and take part in the Olympic Games must also be in a hurry to see that a new constitution, agreed by the indigenous African majority, is in place. There can be no normal sports in an abnormal society, and Africans cannot live by future promises: they must live by the concrete realities of their situation. The PAC has argued that, when a South African contingent participates in sports internationally, it will sing the apartheid colonialist anthem and it will hoist the apartheid flag, clear signs that apartheid is alive and kicking in South Africa.

We know, of course, that they are involved in tricks that will avoid their playing this anthem and using this flag. In fact, they are already planning to do so now, in order to deceive the world. In fact, the participants will almost without exception be whites. Sam Ramsay, the Head of the South African Olympic Committee, knows very well that the lifting of the sports boycott does not benefit Africans; it benefits rather the minority whites.

(Mr. Pheko)

The lifting of sanctions and other measures in general is considered by the majority of Africans as betrayal and a hindrance to the dismantling of apartheid and the destruction of colonialism.

Of course, the African struggle for national liberation and self-determination did not begin with the imposition of sanctions. That noble struggle will not end with the lifting of sanctions. In fact, there is growing pressure among the African people, especially the youth, that the armed struggle must be intensified. The Star recently appealed to President Makwetu of the PAC to prevail over the Azanian People's Liberation Army to put aside its arms. That was after several white police and soldiers were killed by PAC guerrillas. Of course, it is strange that newspapers should make this appeal only when a few armed whites of the regime's security forces have been killed, but not when thousands of Africans die every day.

The de Klerk regime has repealed the legislative aspects of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and the Group Areas Act and tinkered with the Population Registration Act. It will be recalled that the United States Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act specifically called for the repeal of these legislative pillars of apartheid as a condition for the lifting of United States federal sanctions.

But what does the repeal mean to the oppressed and dispossed Africans? The Africans have opposed and challenged the fact that colonialism and racist domination effectively left 106.8 million hectares, that is, 87.3 per cent, of the total land area in the hands of the the white minority comprising only 13 per cent of the total population.

Why has the Land Act been repealed? The whites can keep this vast land without legislation. The voteless Africans have no money. They cannot buy

(Mr. Pheko)

land anywhere because of supplementary legislation which stipulates that a land or property owner cannot dispose of his or her immovable assets without the consent of his or her neighbour or community. This imposed "self-determination of community interests" literally maintains the status quo with regard to land and residential segregation.

The Population Registration Act, considered a pillar of apartheid, has merely been tinkered with. It has not been repealed. Under this so-called new arrangement, children born after 25 June 1991 will not be racially classified. Persons born before that date remain on the register. Those persons will remain racially classified until a new non-racial democratic constitution comes into effect.

In 1990 the South African regime repealed the so-called Separate Amenities Act, but the amenities continue to be separate. They are privatized. There has been introduced what is clumsily called "self-determination of the community". This means that the whites in each residence must agree to the use of the amenities by Africans. As is known, this applies to schools and property available as a result of the repeal of the Group Areas Act.

The repeal of so-called pillars of apartheid has not fundamentally altered the existing status quo of apartheid for the oppressed and poor dispossessed Africans. The South African regime is using the apparent repeal of apartheid laws to improve its international image and to win sympathy and support from the Western countries, in particular, which it considers as its traditional backers. The regime has succeeded in luring President Bush of the United States of America to lift sanctions imposed under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. De Klerk's actions have also led to the Foreign Ministers of the European Community recommending that certain sanctions be lifted.

(Mr. Pheko)

On the crucial issue of who should draw up the new constitution, several positions have been advanced or suggested. The regime has proposed a multi-party conference to discuss the new constitution. Participants in this so-called multi-party conference will be invited by the regime on the basis of proved support. This means that any "paper parties" representing no viable constituency may take part in this conference. The aim of the multi-party conference is to pack the negotiating table with all and sundry, but mainly with unrepresentative elements that support or are subservient to the minority racist regime. Such a meeting can have very little success in drawing up a constitution or agreeing on fundamental principles that recognize majority rule based on one person, one vote. The PAC has rejected the regime's multi-party formula as undemocratic and loaded in favour of the minority regime.

The PAC maintains that the new constitution must be drawn by democratically elected representatives. Consequently, it put forward the democratic formula of an elected constituent assembly as the mechanism to draw up the new constitution. The constituent assembly should be elected on the basis of one person, one vote, with all Azanians over the age of 18 voting on the common voters' roll. There already exists in apartheid South Africa separate voters' rolls; therefore it is possible to draw up a common voters' roll within three months.

The strategy of the regime has been to talk to representatives of the oppressed separately, the typical divide-and-rule tactic of colonialists. The regime's call for a multi-party conference is part of this strategy. The unprecedented escalation of violence since 2 February 1990 has been sponsored by the regime in order to weaken the national liberation movements and undermine the unity of the oppressed.

(Mr. Pheko)

Serious and genuine negotiations must be carried out between the regime and representatives of the Patriotic Front. The PAC and other organizations of the oppressed have demanded a transitional authority that involves international authority, such as the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The regime cannot exercise sovereignty in our country; any such "sovereignty" was usurped through colonization and aggression. The manipulation of international law that has taken place in South Africa to deceive the world that South Africa is not a colony has not fooled the dispossessed people of Azania into accepting this gigantic colonial fraud and fallacy of this century in Africa.

The way forward is not to be gullible and intimidated by those who no longer serve the interests of the victims of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa, but rather their own interests.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Beatrice von Roemer of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Ms. von ROEMER: On behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), representing over 100 million workers in 102 countries, I would like to express our appreciation for the opportunity once again to express our views on the situation in South Africa.

In the last two years we have witnessed an extraordinary movement towards freedom in many parts of the world. We have seen long-entrenched repressive regimes crumble like houses of cards. Nations which had endured foreign occupation and rule for so long that the world had all but forgotten about them have regained their independence and are now seated in these halls. Yet the question of apartheid remains on the agenda of the United Nations and a primary concern of the international free trade union movement.

(Ms. von Roemer)

Certainly, important progress has been seen here as well. We do not deny that. But while we welcome the repeal of apartheid legislation, we are not convinced that these steps, significant as they are, amount to more than the removal of an ugly facade, leaving the basic structure intact and the lives of the people trapped in it unchanged. How can we seriously speak of irreversible change when we have yet to see black citizens of South Africa lined up to cast their votes for a government of their choice? As long as there is no constitution guaranteeing them this right, international pressure needs to be kept up. We find it very difficult to believe in the willingness of the South African Government to enter into negotiations in good faith. There have been just too many revelations about the participation of government agencies in township violence, right-wing attacks and destabilization and government funding of covert operations directed against democratic anti-apartheid forces.

(Ms. von Roemer)

The recent unilateral imposition by the Government of Value Added Tax (VAT) which adds 3 to 5 per cent to household expenditure on basic foodstuffs is hardly an indication of genuine commitment to the creation of a just and democratic South Africa and redressing the wrongs of apartheid. On the contrary, in its current form this tax effectively restructures the South African economy by taking money from the consumer and using it to finance tax relief for big business. The lower income groups in the country - the very victims of apartheid - are the hardest hit.

The ICFTU and its affiliates have made numerous representations to the South African authorities this year, urging them to negotiate and consult democratically over the imposition of VAT. The general strike last week, called by the two trade union federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), and joined by 3.5 million people making it the largest strike ever to take place in South Africa, should serve as a powerful reminder to the international community of Pretoria's continued disregard for the will of the majority population of the country. Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of COSATU, called it "a devastating vote of no confidence in this government".

Another struggle waged by the democratic trade union federations in South Africa concerns the extension of labour rights to farm workers and domestic and public workers. Negotiations are under way regarding the domestic and public workers, but the Government still intends to exclude farm workers from the Labour Relations Act. Their situation is especially serious. A mission conducted by the ICFTU, together with the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers in May 1990 found that they were all badly paid and badly treated. Health care is minimal or non-existent, housing conditions are appalling and child labour, though illegal, is

(Ms. von Roemer)

rampant. The last International Labour Organisation (ILO) Conference called on all constituent members to ensure that labour legislation in South Africa at least fully meets the standards set by the ILO and noted that the legislation ought, as a matter of principle, to cover fully farm workers, domestic workers and public workers.

The ICFTU has throughout the years assisted black workers to build strong and democratic trade unions and to overcome the harassment and persecution to which they were subjected by the apartheid regime. The persecution still has not ceased. Only last month, four leaders of COSATU, Jay Naidoo, Sydney Mafumade, Moses Mayekiso and Baba Schalk, were convicted on charges of kidnapping and assault. These were based on an incident which occurred in August 1990 when COSATU officials apprehended a man, who turned out to be a police agent, acting suspiciously outside COSATU headquarters and detained him until a press conference was held.

The ICFTU issued an official statement declaring that

"the persistence of the South African Government to proceed with this political trial in spite of strong protests from the international free trade union movement was a deliberately contrived attempt to undermine progress towards genuine negotiations to create a new democratic South Africa."

The statement continued

"This onslaught on COSATU leaders displayed the double dealing of the South African regime in its professed wish to secure a negotiated and peaceful solution."

A covert police-sponsored anti-union front organization was recently exposed following the Inkatha funding revelations. The Financial Mail

(Ms. von Roemer)

disclosed that a labour consultancy based at the Rand Afrikaans University had been established in 1989 to combat "undesirable" activities of COSATU and NACTU. COSATU said that this again raised questions about other anti-union dirty tricks, including assassinations of unionists and destruction of numerous union premises over the years. The Law and Order Minister admitted the existence of the body but said that it had been disbanded in July.

In July this year, a Pan-African Conference organized jointly by the ICFTU and its affiliated organization, the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions, heard reports from the democratic trade unions in South Africa, represented by COSATU and NACTU. They called for all forms of sanctions against South Africa to be maintained until a new constitution is in place which would guarantee that there would be no turning back. The Conference supported their call for a constituent assembly to negotiate the future of South Africa. Once negotiations have finally been concluded and a new constitution has been agreed upon it should not be subject to veto by the white electorate.

It is thus in line with the expressed position of the black workers, as represented by their democratic trade unions, that the ICFTU continues to call for the maintenance of sanctions and deeply deplores the current rush to reward South Africa prematurely. Sanctions have been effective in bringing about change. They should be kept up until South Africa has a constitution which guarantees real democracy and political, economic and social justice for all its people. Only then will we be sure that there can be no turning back.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Joseph D. Reilly of the Progressive Librarians Guild of the United States of America.

Mr. REILLY: Before reading my statement I shall read a brief statement by the Library and Information Workers' Organisation (LIWO) of South Africa. This is an organization that has been set up to take the place of the racist, State-sponsored Librarian Information Organization.

"Since 1989 important changes have taken place in South Africa. Protest and resistance under Emergency rule in the 1980s culminated in the organizations of the liberation movement declaring themselves unbanned in late 1989. International pressure, a crisis of legitimacy and military defeats led to De Klerk's response of 2 February 1990. Organizations were unbanned and apartheid, declared the National Party Government, was dead.

"In the months that followed, some apartheid legislation was removed and today, locally and internationally, people speak of a 'New' South Africa.

"The Separate Amenities Act which barred blacks from using public libraries controlled by white local authorities, and sanctioned the establishment of inferior facilities in the townships, was removed from the statute books in late 1990. Its repeal made it possible for some to claim that public libraries were now open to all.

"But for the majority of South Africans seeking reading material for recreation, or for the purposes of non-formal or formal education, access to a free public library service is still difficult if not impossible.

"Most public libraries are situated in white suburbs or in the centre of cities or towns, and cater for the information needs of élite groups - whites, the employed, urban residents, the educated. They remain physically remote from the place of work and residence of most South Africans and in terms of their book stock are of limited relevance.

(Mr. Reilly)

In addition, these facilities are controlled and funded by local authorities (which are still segregated) serving the interests of their ratepayers. In extreme cases some prohibit the use of facilities by residents of nearby townships on the grounds that they do not pay rates to the relevant authority.

"In some areas of Natal librarians have demanded proof of residence, in the form of electricity accounts, before library membership for black patrons is considered. This is difficult for residents of townships without electricity, or those participating in services boycotts, or those living in rooms which have been sublet. In other areas, a prohibitively high annual fee was introduced, effectively preventing many of the poor from access to information. In still other areas, a ceiling has been placed on membership in order to prevent the facility being 'swamped' by local township readers. A situation has arisen where those black township residents who have the wherewithal to travel into the towns to get to the libraries, have to face further obstacles with regard to borrowing privileges. These actions are indicative of the extent to which the mechanisms for preserving white privilege still exist.

"Clearly, then, apartheid is far from dead. The majority of South Africans still do not have the vote. Racial discrimination has permeated the ways in which South African society is ordered in every dimension - political, social, religious - producing a bureaucratic and social system which will take decades to destroy. The persistence of Bantu education for instance ensures that millions of black children continue to struggle for an education with inadequate schools, and without teachers, books, pens, pencils, paper, laboratory equipment, playing fields and sports equipment and libraries.

(Mr. Reilly)

"The Library and Information Workers Organization (LIWO) was launched in Natal in 1990 and in the Western Cape in 1991, to address the information needs of South Africans in the context of a history of repressive and discriminatory limitations on the exchange of information and opinion. We remain committed to defining our work in terms of developments in the wider socio-political and economic arenas. In doing so we have established contacts with progressive educational and cultural organizations and civic and political structures working in the area of local government. The imbalance in the allocation of library, and indeed all, resources in South Africa must be tackled at the root - that is, in relation to the balance of political and economic resources and power.

"We therefore call upon the international community to resist the temptation to herald prematurely the demise of apartheid, and to approach the De Klerk era realistically. For most South Africans, the 'new' South Africa remains as tainted as the old. We cannot be sure that fundamental change in the existing system of entrenched privilege is possible given the persistence of the current balance of power. As library and information workers committed to democratic ideals, we recognize the relationship between information and power and have defined our work in terms of individual and community empowerment, as our contribution to the realization of democracy in South Africa. We call upon the international community of library and information workers, and upon library users, whose lives have been enriched through free access to the information wealth of the world, to support our campaigns for the recognition of the following human rights in South Africa: the right to freedom of information and opinion, the right to free, accessible and relevant

(Mr. Reilly)

public library services, the right of children to learn and develop in the context of a free education supported by adequate school libraries." That is the LIWO statement of 12 November 1991.

Last year, I told this Committee that "data, documentation, information and knowledge were the tools with which we can expose the criminal activities" in South and southern Africa. It is my intention today, as an information worker, to bring the Committee up to date in this regard.

It has been a momentous year of struggle in South Africa. Through sacrifice and hard work, the South African people have created a small but extremely significant space in which to operate. In their quest for a stable, prosperous non-racial democracy, the South African people accorded the Government the trust necessary to conduct cordial dialogue. But the apartheid regime has abused all provisions of this trust at every possible opportunity.

The bantustan policy continues unabated, in the hope that these artificial entities can be negotiated on a point-by-point basis. Even at this late stage, the regime is giving land away to that gerrymandered territory it calls Bophuthatswana, under the military rule of its puppet, Mangope. Incredibly, it is once again necessary for this Committee to clearly state that there is no such entity as Bophuthatswana, that cities such as Mafikeng and Rooigrond are South African cities, that people living there are South Africans, that Bop Central Prison in Rooigrond is a South African jail, and that martyrs such as Rabusang Monnana were courageous South African freedom fighters who died at the hands of South African authorities. I would also ask that the Committee send a copy of such a statement to United States Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen and President Bush, who seem incapable of clearly enunciating this reality.

(Mr. Reilly)

The world has watched in horror as massacre after massacre has taken place throughout the country, as more assassinations of leaders of the liberation struggle have taken place in the past one and one half years than in the previous decade, and as the regime has audaciously denied its obvious complicity in the face of hundreds of affidavits, eyewitness accounts, parliamentary reports, videotaped footage of State officials actively taking part in such crimes, and State documentation all of which clearly demonstrates a wilful and disciplined strategy of internal destabilization against the people's struggle for non-racial democracy.

This summer's revelations demonstrated that Inkatha and the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA) are allies and agencies of the South African authorities and could never exist without being propped up by the weaponry, military training and logistical support, political bolstering and material aid provided - all of it - by the State at taxpayers' expense. But Inkatha and UWUSA are just a few components of the larger destabilization strategy. We know beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Thirty-second Battalion; Koevoet; Five Reconnaissance Regiment; Two Reconnaissance Regiment; RENAMO; former members of the Civil Cooperation Bureau; gangs such as Amisinyora, the Black Cats, and the Three Million Gang; the KwaZulu Police under the command of Jack Buchner; and, of course, various units of the South African Police are all operating throughout the nation to create a climate of mass intimidation and terror. An internal paper of the National Intelligence Service exemplifies how seriously the campaign against the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies is being waged. The paper speaks of manoeuvring the ANC, step by step, into a position of weakness to force its leadership into compromising basic principles by intimidating the populace so that it

(Mr. Reilly)

will not openly support the ANC and its allies. All of these things are done with the goal of dictating conditions and terms during the negotiation process.

South Africa also continues to interfere in the affairs of sovereign nations in the region.

In Namibia there is a campaign of economic sabotage, complete with artificial capital transfers, in order to oust the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) leadership from power in the next election. The role of The Tender Board and Mr. W. N. Greef are of particular interest in this regard. Furthermore, individuals such as Riaan D. Lange and Anna Vorster appear to be working for the National Intelligence Service right out of South Africa's diplomatic mission in Windhoek, and Louis Van Niekerk, Louis Vandenberg and others from the Department of Military Intelligence are likely to be working towards the same disgusting goals of destabilization.

In Angola it is now well established that South Africa is actively working to undermine the Angolan elections and put Jonas Savimbi in power by any means necessary. The continuous violations of Botswana's airspace by Hercules C-130 transport planes bringing military supplies to UNITA, the construction of an airstrip near the Thirty-second Battalion's base in the Northern Cape, the establishment of an intelligence front in Paris called "Interaction International" - headed by Mike Wells and Philippe Bohn - all of this tells us that the Angolan peace process is being attacked by those elements most responsible for the endless terror and destruction that led to the peace process in the first place.

Elsewhere, South Africa stands accused of shipping military vehicles to the corrupt regime in Zaire. And in its relentless quest for hegemonic rule in the region, the military establishment has decided to take part in more unconventional warfare, this time in Uganda.

(Mr. Reilly)

Finally, the many reports of the booming illegal arms trade in the area near the border of Mozambique and Swaziland are worth noting. Likewise, the illegal ivory trade, which provides enormous funds for RENAMO and Special Forces units of the South African Defence Force (SADF), is also proliferating.

Needless to say, South Africa does not act alone in matters of external interference. For example, while it is true that the Government funded and administered the United Workers Union of South Africa, it is worth pointing out that there are strong suspicions, with significant documentation, that the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) of the United States has also been involved. NED Grant No. 91-51, approved on 22 March 1991 for $110,000; Grant No. 90-100, approved on 8 June 1990, for $200,000; and Grant No. 89-116, approved on 15 September 1989, are a sample of monies taken from unsuspecting United States taxpayers in order to send so-called trade-union leaders to the facilities of the Histadrut Trade Union Federation in Israel.

(Mr. Reilly)

Israel, however, is not the only nation in the Middle East that is supporting South Africa. During the Gulf War, Saudi Arabia purchased the entire 1991 supply of 155-mm shells from South Africa. Similarly, the United Arab Emirates ordered 50 G6 mobile cannons from South Africa. The net result of these transactions, obviously, was a hefty profit for the South African regime.

Private organizations of the far right continue to be well represented in regional interference: the International Freedom Foundation; Freedom, Incorporated; Morton Blackwell and the member organizations of the Council for National Policy; Pat Robertson and a host of right-wing evangelical Christian enterprises; the Hans Seidel Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Germany; and, of course, the Heritage Foundation. This is a very brief list of those making up the constellation of private and semi-private support for terror and destabilization throughout the region.

Of the many Governments and organizations which have invested time and resources to cause chaos in southern Africa, Kenya is of special note. The material support, diplomatic protection and military training that Kenya has provided for RENAMO is a disgrace. The United Nations, as well as nations throughout the world, consider RENAMO to be a terrorist organization responsible for killing over 1 million people in Mozambique and whose humanitarian tactics include "boiling children alive in front of their parents". Kenya's role in the Joint Verification Committee overseeing the negotiations between RENAMO and the Government of Mozambique is little more than an excuse to allow Kenya to be more open in its long-standing relationship with RENAMO. The fact that such support continues even after

(Mr. Reilly)

Kenya has just signed a communiqué at the Commonwealth Summit Meeting urging an end to all forms of support for RENAMO betrays a wholly cynical policy that can be of absolutely no positive strategic value to Kenya's interests.

None of the information I have shared with the Committee comes from a secret vault or has been acquired by infiltration of some agency. Most of it comes from accessible information resources, such as newspapers, journals, published government documents and the like. Furthermore, in spite of the sheer density of destabilization, targeted nations in the region, as well as targeted communities throughout South Africa, remain focused on the goal of stability, peace and non-racial democracy. Therefore, the Special Political Committee should not find it too difficult to put forth recommendations that both stem external interference in the affairs of sovereign States in southern Africa and further bolster the fighting people of South Africa. It is absolutely vital that the United Nations continue to play an active role in South and southern Africa. The fact that this Committee continues to hold these hearings is both an acknowledgement of the fact that apartheid remains the greatest obstacle to non-racial democracy and regional stability and that the United Nations remains committed to the peoples of South and southern Africa.

I have submitted some recommendations for the Special Political Committee's perusal. I will not take up any more of the Committee's time by reading them out. Perhaps in its deliberations the Committee will examine them.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Mr. David A. Ridenour of The National Center for Public Policy Research.

Mr. RIDENOUR: I appreciate the opportunity to address the Committee on a very important topic - the status of apartheid in South Africa.

Among South African groups, there does not seem to be a consensus on the status of apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC) continues to assert that apartheid is alive and well and that many of the changes that have been implemented over the past two years have been merely cosmetic. Meanwhile, the Government insists that apartheid is dead and buried. Neither of these claims are entirely true. Certainly, as long as South African law denies a substantial majority of the people the right to participate equally in electoral politics, apartheid will continue to exist. But if apartheid is not dead and buried it is at least on its death bed. In the two years that F. W. de Klerk has been South African State President, apartheid structures that took the Government decades to erect have crumbled.

A review of reforms over the past 12 months is in order.

First, over the past year, not only have the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Black Land Act of 1913 and the Black Community and Development Act of 1984 been repealed, but also the Group Areas Act of 1936 and the Population Registration Act of 1950. The repeal of the latter two were among the conditions stipulated by the United States own Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act for the President of the United States to lift all United States punitive measures - which he did several months ago.

Secondly, the negotiation process has begun in South Africa. The South African Government has been actively engaged in negotiations with the ANC for the creation of a new, multi-racial political system since early 1990. Some leaders of the ANC continue to claim that their meetings with government officials are merely for purposes of discussing the terms of negotiations. But acording to the definition of the Oxford English Dictionary, negotiation

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is the "action or business of negotiating or making terms with others". In other words, discussing the terms of negotiations is itself negotiation. Add to this the fact that agreements have been signed between the Government and the ANC, among others, including the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute, and most recently, the National Peace Accord. The ANC itself recently announced it will participate in an all-party conference later on this month.

Thirdly, in June, the South African Parliament passed a Bill amending the Internal Security Act. The Bill imposed strict limits on detention of terrorism suspects, scrapped restrictions on publications and individuals and ended massive government power to ban organizations.

Fourthly, in March, the Government agreed that even exiles who had military training could apply and receive indemnity to return to South Africa. This was expected to affect 80 per cent of ANC exiles. By 30 April of this year, 4,500 applications for indemity had already been approved.

Fifthly, all political prisoners in South Africa have been released. By the mutual agreement of the South African Government and the ANC, the political-prisoner release process was concluded on 30 June.

Although progress has been significant in expunging the apartheid system from the law books, South Africa has yet another significant task to complete. That is the negotiation of a new constitutional dispensation that will allow all South Africans the right, regardless of race, to participate on an equal footing in electoral politics. Only then will apartheid be ready for burial. But even this will not mean that South Africa's problems are over.

One of the greatest tragedies of South Africa has been the death toll in the townships. By some estimates, over 6,000 blacks have died in clashes between Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) over the past five years. Still more have died in

(Mr. Ridenour)

violent confrontations between the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Movement. International sanctions have played a part in this tragedy.

International sanctions and the resultant economic dislocation of black workers have helped to create fertile ground for the culture of violence. They have wreaked havoc with young South African blacks, often referred to in the media as "South Africa's lost generation". Many young blacks lack stable home lives, owing largely to family economic distress, and cannot get jobs, owing to the economic downturn caused by sanctions. Some have resorted to crime - sometimes violent crime. Like their underprivileged counterparts in urban centres throughout the industrialized world, some have reached out to gangs for economic advancement and to gain a sense of belonging. The gang of choice during the mid to late 1980s was the ANC.

The ANC, of course, was eager to welcome the new recruits. In the 1980s, having failed adequately to challenge the Government militarily, the ANC set out to make South Africa - in its own word - "ungovernable". For this, it did not require a well-disciplined, politically committed cadre of members. For fomenting anarchy, members of the "lost generation" would do nicely.

This leads us to the problem we have today - the seemingly endless violence. I believe Nelson Mandela when he says he wants the violence to stop, and he wants it to stop immediately. The only other alternative to that is that he is actively encouraging it, which I do not believe is so. The fact is that during the 1980s the ANC recruited people who were undisciplined and committed to generating anarchy, and that is precisely what they have today. Mr. Mandela is incapable of putting an end to the violence because he does not have control over the ANC membership, much less the Inkatha membership.

(Mr. Ridenour)

The answer to the problem of violence in South Africa is better education and greater employment opportunities for the youth of South Africa. We must help South Africa's "lost generation" to find its way. People who are employed, people whose basic economic needs are met are less inclined towards acts of violence or extremism. But neither greater education nor employment will be possible without the return of foreign investment and industry.

I urge the United Nations and this Committee to help end the carnage by encouraging Member States to remove remaining punitive measures.

Such a move would be consistent with the conditions laid down by the United Nations for the termination of international sanctions.

In December 1989, the United Nations set five conditions for the removal of punitive international sanctions against South Africa. These included:

1. The legalization of banned political groups and the right of all political groups to organize, stage protests, etc. This condition was met in full in February of last year with the unbanning of over 60 anti-apartheid groups, including the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Azanian People's Organization and the Pan Africanist Congress, among others.

2. The release of all political prisoners. This condition has been met - at least to the satisfaction of the African National Congress. On 30 June, the ANC agreed that the prisoner release process had been concluded. Some anti-apartheid leaders believe that the Government may have even gone too far in releasing prisoners. During a recent visit to Washington, D.C., the long-term anti-apartheid crusader Helen Suzman said she believed that a number of the prisoners released represent a very real threat to public safety in South Africa.

(Mr. Ridenour)

3. End of rule by emergency decree. This condition was met in June with the amelioration of the Internal Security Act. Last year, South Africa's state of emergency was lifted nationwide.

4. Termination of all political trials and executions. This condition has also been met. With the resolution of the political prisoners' question, the lifting of restrictions on political activity, the end of the state of emergency and the amendment of the Internal Security Act, the issue of political trials is largely moot. Although the deadline on President de Klerk's "temporary" moratorium on executions expired earlier this year, in practical terms, it remains in effect. Stays of execution are the rule of the day.

5. Withdrawal of all South African troops from townships. According to the Government, South African Defence Force troops were necessary in the townships due to internecine political violance between the African National Congress and the Inkatha movement. Indeed, South Africa's independent Human Rights Commission recently reported that between July 1990 and June 1991, 3,180 people were killed and an estimated 7,000 wounded due to such violence. Last year, Nelson Mandela himself noted on ABC television's "Nightline" that "No Government anywhere in the world can tolerate violence in which close to 4,000 people have been killed, without interfering." In September, the Government, the ANC and Inkatha signed a comprehensive agreement to deal with political violence. The Accord set out specific guidelines of behaviour not only for political groups, but for the South African Defence Force (SADF) and the police. The agreement by the African National Congress to specific guidelines of behaviour for SADF troops operating in the townships represents tacit approval by ANC of SADF's presence there. This condition has therefore been met.

(Mr. Ridenour)

The United Nations should stand by its word and call on all Member countries to lift sanctions.

I probably do not need to tell you what South African blacks think about international sanctions. Over the past 10 years, there have been dozens of public opinion polls showing that a vast majority of blacks oppose sanctions. For example, one of the most recent polls, conducted by the highly respected Gallup polling organization, showed that 76 per cent of the respondents (including 68 per cent of ANC supporters surveyed) opposed punitive economic measures. The reason for their opposition is clear: they have paid the highest price for sanctions.

South African Economic Coordination Minister Dr. Dawie de Villiers recently reported that South Afrca's unemployment rate rose from 10 per cent to 17 per cent between 1983 and 1991. Frankly, some analysts doubt the veracity of those statistics; they believe unemployment is actually much higher. Given that blacks constitute over 80 per cent of the unemployed, there are over 2 million blacks currently without work in South Africa (even using Dr. de Villiers' optimistic statistics). Only about 3 to 4 per cent of the unemployed are white.

What is the difference between 1983 and 1991 - international sanctions and disinvestment. Before most punitive sanctions were imposed during the 1980s, the South African economy was actually growing at a sufficient rate to employ the new entries into the job market and most of the people entering the job market for the first time were black. During the 1980s unfortunately only about 25 per cent of the new entrants to the job market found jobs.

Many black wage-earners in South Africa support not only their own family but those of their siblings. The economic impact of one lost black job can

(Mr. Ridenour)

ripple through up to four families. Millions of South African blacks are suffering: they lack proper nutrition, housing, education and medical care.

The United Nations should take a humanitarian and moral stand and call on all nations to repeal sanctions against South Africa now.

Thank you for this opportunity to address you on this very vital topic.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of Young People against Apartheid, Ms. Salisha Evans.

Ms. EVANS: It is with deep humility and pride that I address this body. I commend this Committee for its tireless work in keeping the issue of South African apartheid before this body and indeed the world. Your efforts have reflected the conscience of civilized men.

I was born one year and 10 days after 16 June 1976. As you are aware, 16 June 1976 is a date that has been indelibly etched into the collective consciousness of the world. On that fateful day innocence died.

Children, who have always represented humankind's hopes and aspirations for the future, tragically became casualties of hate, casualties of oppression, casualties of apartheid. Those innocent children of Soweto were now front-line troops in the battle for the soul of their country. In the intervening years, the children of South Africa have had no respite from this war.

Wars have generally been portrayed as the exclusive province of adults. There had at least been the pretence of shielding children from its ravenous jaws. On 16 June 1976, this pretense was abandoned. Children became the designated targets of the apartheid State and thus moved from the footnotes of history into the prime passages. As they fell before the onslaught of bullets, out of their cries of anguish and deathly sobs, was born the anti-apartheid movement.

(Ms. Evans)

Today, we stand in their honour and in honour of many fallen heroes, on the precipice of victory.

I look at the events in South Africa through the eyes of a 14-year-old high school sophomore. I do not pretend to know or to understand the actions of adults, but I do feel the pain, the isolation, the lost youth of the children of South Africa, the victims of apartheid. I can imagine the sadness of not being able to do the simple things that children do, such as going to school with a friend, enjoying the strength of a father and the care of a mother who are secure in their homes and jobs.

I imagine the nightmares of fear. I understand why the children take the roles of adults in the fight against apartheid. I understand why the future has to be built on the spilled blood of today's youth. Apartheid is not merely a war against the mothers and fathers. Its victims are not just the old or the young adults. By its very nature, apartheid is a total war against humanity. Its victims are the young and the old, the just and the unjust. It is because it is so oppressive and invasive that its total annihilation becomes the obligation of all civilized peoples.

While I understand and accept the need for children to be in the forefront of this battle, I am still saddened at their sacrifices. I still hurt for them. Their blood, their youth, their futures will have been worth the terrible price paid only when all vestiges of apartheid have been destroyed, and the pure air of freedom once more gently kisses the cheeks of South Africa's young children. Only then will the innocence of childhood be reclaimed.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the representative of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, Ms. Gay J. McDougall.

Ms. McDOUGALL: The developments in South Africa are currently at a critical juncture. Since the South African President F. W. de Klerk's historic speech at the opening of Parliament in January 1990, significant changes have taken place in that country. As we survey these reforms today, on the eve of substantive negotiations between the South African Government and the opposition parties, however, we must conclude that those changes do not qualify as irreversible or profound - not yet.

Hundreds of political prisoners remain in jail with little hope of early release. Arrests for political offences and political trials continue. While the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has recently concluded an agreement with the South African Government that will permit the repatriation of tens of thousands who remain in exile, that process will proceed in the absence of the general blanket amnesty required by the Office of the High Commissioner in other countries. Many will return home under partial indemnities that will fail to dispel their fear of arrest on unknown charges.

The broad power that continues to be authorized by the Internal Security Act and the Public Safety Act to control, suppress and punish certain forms of peaceful political activity creates a chilling effect on political participation.

While the Group Areas Act has indeed been repealed, it has been replaced by legislation that will permit local white communities to take measures that will maintain the status quo in racially segregated communities. Similarly, the repeal of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 will have very little impact. The vast majority of South Africa's black population have been left so desperately poor, primarily as a result of the operation of those laws, that

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they have no financial means to purchase the property now theoretically available to them The Population Registration Act has been repealed but the impact of repeal will largely be limited to infants born after the date of repeal: they will no longer be classified as white, Asian, coloured or African. All others in this society, however, will retain their racial classifications and significant legal consequences that attach to those classifications. Most important, those classified as African continue to be denied the right to vote.

While fostering an image abroad of dismantling apartheid and partaking in "good faith" negotiations, the South African Government has secretly waged a State-sponsored campaign against its principal negotiating partner, the African National Congress. Through covert operations carried out by the South African police and military, and secret funding to the Inkatha Freedom Party, President De Klerk's Government has carried forth a double agenda. At best, the South African Government has proved to be in collusion with Inkatha in an attempt to manipulate the power balance between Inkatha, the National Party and the ANC. At worst, the Government may be proved to have been directly involved in the brutal acts of violence that have taken over 1,700 lives this year alone.

Meanwhile, foreign Governments like that of the United States are moving quickly to lift sanctions before the bona fides of the South African Government are clearly established.

Perhaps most important, the backdrop against which the National Party and leading anti-apartheid activists are now sitting down to negotiate is stained with instability born of violence - violence for which there is mounting evidence of South African police involvement. The emergence of these trends

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coupled with government intransigence on old issues pose serious threats to the success of the upcoming all-party conference. Serious obstacles remain in the way of progress.

In my written statement, which I should like to submit for the record, I assess in some detail the degree to which the South African Government has complied with the preconditions for negotiations established in the United Nations Declaration on South Africa adopted by consensus by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session, on apartheid. I then go on to describe the process that those negotiations will take over the next year or two. Finally, I analyse the brief and constitutional proposals of the National Party.

However, what I should like to do with the limited time that I have left for this oral presentation is to concentrate on what we consider to be the single greatest obstacle currently barring progress, that is, the violence currently raging in South Africa.

Instead of a climate conducive to political participation, the ongoing violence has created an atmosphere dominated by fear. Under current conditions, newly established rights created through the lifting of restrictions on persons and organizations are being undermined because of a citizenry too fearful to exercise them. The death toll for this year alone is 1,745, with over 2,000 reported injured.

What makes the problem of violence so difficult to address is the fact that it is so multifaceted. On the one hand, there is what has been referred to as interfactional fighting but with respect to which there are mounting reports of police involvement.

(Ms. McDougall)

The casualties of this brand of violence typically are ordinary township citizens. At the other end of the spectrum are highly organized hit-squad assassinations, primarily of prominent political leaders. The range of participants in the violence extends from government forces to the black and the white civilian population, including white right-wing extremist groups. In addition, while in the past there was an appearance that the targets of the violence were chosen on the basis of their political affiliation, recently there has emerged a pattern of totally indiscriminate violence which has led to a more generalized destabilization in the townships.

Several recent incidents have provided new evidence of police involvement. In one instance, over a hundred people have been reported killed in a conflict that ostensibly pits two rival taxi associations against each other. The scene of this conflict was characterized as more akin to a bomb-site than a residential neighbourhood after one night during which 200 shacks were burned to the ground, leaving 78 homeless and 11 dead.

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Sworn affidavits from 36 witnesses have been submitted to the police linking police officers to the violence. Accounts of police instigation and inaction have become too numerous to dismiss as fabrications. In another incident,

> "Seven members of the South African police are currently being tried for the murder of 11 residents of an area known as Trust Feed, on 3 December 1988. The central witness in the case, which is currently pending in the South African Supreme Court, Natal Provincial Division, is an Inkatha leader who has testified that he participated in a plot with the accused police officers to kill Trust Feed residents who were challenging the authority of Inkatha leaders'.

In addition to suspected collusion of the police in township violence, credible allegations have emerged of police and military death squads which have attacked top anti-apartheid activists in South Africa and as far away as France. While a government commission of inquiry, the Harms Commission, absolved the South African Government of culpability for the more than 60 deaths investigated, it did conclude that there was sufficient evidence to prosecute former army-death-squad members in one murder and for further investigations related to three other planned assassinations. According to the Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission, this year alone there have been hit-squad attacks resulting in 46 deaths and 34 injuries; more than 60 people have been assassinated in the last 18 months. Just in the short period between June and September 1991, 33 suspected death-squad assassinations were committed, primarily involving African National Congress (ANC) victims.

In the course of an inquest, currently in progress, into the assassination on 25 February 1991 of Chief Maphumulo, a Zulu chief loyal to

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the ANC, a former member of the South African security force has admitted to carrying out that assassination pursuant to a security police directive. The witness, Officer Lucky James Mntambo, testified that he had participated in an armed attack on Chief Maphumulo's home. The attack include Inkatha members and the police. Mntambo also related how he and other policemen, on instructions of their superiors, took steps to conceal their identities by wearing ski masks and by attaching bags to their AK-47 rifles so that no spent cartridges would be left behind as evidence of police involvement. Outside the inquest, Mntambo told reporters that since joining the Security Branch in 1988 he has taken part in hit-squad attacks that have killed at least 15 people. The victims, he reports, were always ANC people. In addition, he admitted to being part of a group led by a police captain that killed the man who had been Chief Maphumulo's driver on the day before the driver was scheduled to appear and testify at the inquest. The judgement in that inquest is still pending.

The National Peace Accord, signed on 14 September 1991, has been hailed as a serious attempt to quell the violence. The Accord requires adherence by all parties to a code of political conduct and it further regulates the conduct of police and security forces in the context of political rallies and demonstrations. Although the goals contained in the accord are laudable, serious problems have arisen in its implementation. Since the signing, over 200 people have been killed. There are widespread reports of South African Police violations of the Accord and of the failure on the part of the Government to educate the security forces and members of the general public as to its contents. There have also been complaints of police failure to monitor commuter trains, which have been the scene of several brutal attacks. Since

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the Accord, 16 deaths have resulted from 11 commuter-train attacks. The police apparently patrolled stations for a short period of time and during that period the attacks did, in fact, decline; however, violence has resumed since the patrols stopped.

The United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa states,

"We believe that it is essential that the necessary climate be created for negotiations. There is an urgent need to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand ... ." (resolution S-16/1, annex, para. 5)

Far from contributing to the climate that is called for in the United Nations Declaration, the recent wave of violence significantly undermines it and further evidences a failure on the part of the South African Government to discharge its responsibilities, even those responsibilities extant prior to the signing of the Peace Accord.

Clearly, the Government has a duty to refrain from waging war against its own citizens through its own security forces. If the Government is not itself orchestrating the violence and the police officers involved are acting independently, then the Government has an affirmative obligation to take steps to assert the same control over delinquent elements of its own forces as it has in the past asserted over those opposed to apartheid. It must insist that all the members of the enforcement branch of its Government maintain law and order in a responsible fashion through competent investigation and vigorous prosecution.

Mr. AL-KINDI (United Arab Emirates) (interpretation from Arabic): Mr. Joseph Reilly of the Progressive Librarians Guild stated that my country has purchased certain military equipment from the South African apartheid regime. I would like to make it clear that the information concerning my

(Mr. Al-Kindi, United Arab Emirates)

country in his statement is not correct and has no foundation in truth or reality. My country is committed to all the agreements that prohibit dealings with South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard the last speaker on our list. The Special Political Committee has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 37. Our Rapporteur will introduce the Committee's report to the General Assembly.

At our next meeting, tomorrow morning, Friday, 15 November 1991 at 10 a.m. in Conference Room 2, we shall begin our consideration of agenda item 72, "United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East".

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.